

# EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

WAIVING THE CONDITIONALITY  
PERTAINING TO FOREIGN MILITARY  
FINANCING FOR INDONESIA

**HON. PATRICK J. KENNEDY**

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 29, 2005

Mr. KENNEDY of Rhode Island. Mr. Speaker, this past weekend the House of Representatives voted to congratulate the Government of Indonesia and the Free Aceh Movement for their willingness to compromise to end the conflict in Aceh. Indeed, I join with my colleagues in marking this important milestone towards peace.

However, at the same time, I must rise to express my grave concerns about the recent Administration decision to waive conditionality pertaining to Foreign Military Financing for Indonesia (FMF). While Indonesia has made great strides in democratization in recent years, it is unfortunate that the Indonesia military (TNI) continues to tarnish that progress.

As my colleagues know, the Fiscal Year 2006 Foreign Operations, Export Financing, and Related Programs Appropriations Act that was signed into law on November 14 included certain restrictions upon FMF for Indonesia. The legislation required that the Indonesian Government hold members of their military accountable for gross violations of human rights. Congress held FMF contingent upon the Indonesian military's cooperation with civilian judicial activities and international efforts aimed at bringing perpetrators to justice. Furthermore, Congress demonstrated its support for strengthening democratic governance in Indonesia, and required that improved civilian control of the military be demonstrated before FMF could be provided.

Those conditions have not yet been met. However, only two days after the Foreign Operations Appropriation bill was signed into law, and despite the clearly expressed will of Congress on this issue, the Administration unilaterally decided to exercise waiver authority that it was granted in good faith.

The evidence does not support this waiver. At least 15 human rights defenders, including Indonesia's foremost human rights advocate Munir, have been murdered since 2000. No perpetrator has been brought to justice for these crimes. No senior Indonesian officer has been held accountable for crimes against humanity in East Timor in 1999 or before. Today, in West Papua, reports continue to come in of the TNI terrorizing the people of West Papua, even as the military restricts access to the area.

I am deeply disappointed by this action taken by the Administration. It removes the U.S.'s leverage to press for human rights improvement. It undermines our credibility with those who have suffered and seek justice. And it threatens the democratic advances that have been made by the Indonesian people.

I strongly urge the Administration to retract this decision.

TRIBUTE TO RETIRING CLERK OF  
THE HOUSE JEFF TRANDAHL

**HON. ROBERT W. NEY**

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 29, 2005

Mr. NEY. Mr. Speaker, before we conclude this first session of the 109th Congress, we need to acknowledge the exemplary service of our retiring Clerk of the House, Jeff Trandahl. Before retiring last month, Jeff diligently served this Congress for over 20 years. He began his career in the other body working for Senator James Abdnor from South Dakota, Jeff's home state. Thankfully for those of us who serve in the House, he soon chose to join us on this side of the Capitol, taking a job with Congresswoman Virginia Smith from Nebraska and working on Appropriations Committee matters.

Jeff got his first real experience with House operations working for Congressman Pat Roberts from Kansas who served on the Committee on House Administration.

When the Republicans won the House in 1994, Jeff was promoted to Assistant to the Clerk, and in that capacity was responsible for legislative operations, personnel, and budget. In November 1996, he was appointed Acting Chief Administrative Officer of the House and led a drastic reorganization of that office.

In December 1998 he was made the 32nd Clerk of the House and was elected to four consecutive 2-year terms by the House membership.

For the past 8 years his responsibilities as Clerk have included management of the House Floor operations, legal support for the institution, management of public information and required legal filings, and numerous other duties. Simply put, Jeff was responsible for seeing that the essential tasks that allow this House to operate get carried out.

In addition to his regular duties, he played a pivotal role in numerous historic events including the annual State of the Union address, presidential inaugurations, the response to September 11th, the anthrax attacks, and the national funeral for President Reagan.

Members will always be grateful to him for his extensive efforts to use technology to improve the efficiency of House operations. It truly has made our jobs easier and made the business of the House more accessible and open to the public.

One of the accomplishments of which he is the most proud was the establishment of an office to handle the House's historical, curatorial, and archival needs. Jeff has always had an immense amount of respect for the Institution and he will be remembered for his outstanding service.

While this is a loss to the United States Congress, it is certainly a gain for the National Fish and Wildlife Foundation where Jeff will be Executive Director. I am sure he will approach that job with the same determination and perseverance he has shown in his service here.

Jeff has always been the consummate professional, and the House is a better place because of his great record of service here.

We thank him and we will miss him, but we wish him the best of luck in his new endeavors.

NEED FOR GREATER  
CONGRESSIONAL CIVILITY

**HON. DENNIS MOORE**

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 29, 2005

Mr. MOORE of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, as a founding member of the House Center Aisle Caucus, which seeks to bring greater civility and moderation to the actions of the United States House of Representatives and to the interactions between its Members, I commend to all of my colleagues the recent Providence Journal column authored by Eugene G. Bernardo, II, which I have included in today's CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. Mr. Bernardo's commentary regarding the increasing breakdown of civility in political campaigns is equally applicable to the legislative process at the federal level. As he concludes: "By encouraging us to see as equals even those with whom we disagree vehemently, civility lets us hold the respectful dialogues without which democratic decision-making is impossible."

Mr. Speaker, truer words have never been written. I hope that our colleagues will take them to heart as we face the legislative challenges of the weeks and months to come.

[From the Providence Journal, Nov. 11, 2005]

INCIVILITY BREEDS THREATS TO DEMOCRACY

(By Eugene G. Bernardo II)

In 1982, noted criminologists James Q. Wilson and George Kelling developed the "broken windows" theory of crime. The premise was that when a broken window in a building is left unrepaired, the rest of the windows are soon broken by vandals.

According to Wilson and Kelling, the broken window invites further vandalism by sending a signal that no one is in charge, and that breaking more windows has no undesirable consequences.

The broken window is their metaphor for numerous ways in which behavioral norms can break down in a community. If one person scrawls graffiti on a wall, others will soon be using their spray paint. If one person begins dumping garbage in a vacant lot, other dumpers will follow.

In short, once people begin disregarding the norms that maintain community order, both community and order unravel—sometimes with alarming alacrity.

The broken-windows theory is applicable to the modern-day political campaign.

The campaign for public office should be waged within the marketplace of ideas.

It should entail a wide range of debates about public policy, with the candidates each aiming to persuade the citizenry to accept their viewpoints.

However, what we are seeing within the marketplace of ideas today is a disturbing

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